

1: Lhote

E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

/frontispiece/

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Plate XII

Hunting with dogs is common among the Tuareg, who use saluki something like Arabian greyhounds for the purpose. Their eklan /Iklan? Ed./ are often famous hunters. In this photograph we see one of them holding two dogs on a leash and getting ready to go track wild sheep.



Besides hunting with dogs, the Tuareg engage in trapping. Here we see a trap with radial points being set. The lasso is being tied to a big tree branch sunk in the ground and hidden by a layer of sand.

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224 Among the Tuareg hunting is the business of a few men, a few
 [43] specialists who have made it their profession; however, we see a
 [52] large proportion of Iklân who seem to have more aptitude and more
 taste for hunting than their masters. There is certainly an atavistic
 character in this, a vestige of ancestral mores influenced by the
 original forest environment, where hunting was most often the basis
 of human activity. But it is nonetheless true that many Tuareg are
 very good hunters. The most renowned seem to be among the
 Issekkemâren and the Dâg Râli.

224 Hunting with hounds is the most popular. They hunt wild sheep
 231 and gazelles with saluki-type greyhounds, who serve at the same
 time as camp dogs /241/ for the Tuareg. These animals, who
 stand tall, belong to a race halfway between the Kabyle dog and
 the Berber saluki and must also possess jackal blood. They are par-
 ticularly suited for running and have innate talent for hunting.

224 The hunter's job is to track down the animal, to succeed in
 discovering him, either grazing or in his lair, and to set the dogs
 on him at the propitious moment when he does not expect it and at
 a suitable distance. An epic battle between the animal and the
 dogs sometimes results from this; often the battle necessitates the
 man's intervention, for example when there is a wild sheep which
 does not hesitate to confront its assailants. The hunter, who is
 [41] usually armed with a long javeline with a wooden shaft, then tries
 to stick his weapon in the animal's body and kill it. When it is a
 question of gazelles, he only needs let the dogs alone. If they can
 catch it, the animal will be quickly neutralized by the powerful
 jaws of the saluki.

Beside the common hunting with hounds, the Tuareg engage in
 trapping, which is a lazy method of hunting. It is all the more
 appreciated in the Sahara because game is rare and wary, and a
 certain amount of luck is always involved in capturing it.

The Inâggaren use two types of traps: traps with radial points
 and torsion traps in the shape of an arc.

224 which is rolled up on a stick, one end of which is cut in a point. A
[23] second apparatus consists in a little wooden disk covered with hide,
the whole mounted on another stick a little longer than that of the
first apparatus which is embedded between the layer and the arc,
while the pointed stick is fastened in the hole of a bead or on a
little leather ring fixed on the leather disk. A lasso is placed on
this disk, and its end is fastened on the main part of the pointed
stick.

This trap is generally placed on the paths frequented by gazelles
and lightly covered with sand. If the animal puts its foot on the
leather disk, the pressure that it causes unhooks the pointed stick;
the shock of this can break a paw and in any case it tightens the
lasso around the paw.

[17] More recently the Tuareg have used the metallic spring trap
329 of the English type, which their blacksmiths now know how to make.
They have replaced the balanced bait pan by a taut skin on which
they have attached a large glass bead. The bait is fixed to the
bead and is more sensitive to the touch. This trap may accidentally
catch gazelles, but the most common catches are hares and jackals.

224 The Tuareg hunt on the lands over which they range and have
423 no right to hunt on the lands of the neighboring tribes. If such a
case occurred, they would be obliged to give the game to the
owners of the area. The latter may at least grant back part of the
meat, but they keep the skin, especially when it is a wild sheep.

/243/ Some regions are the hunting fief of a single man. So,
in the Koudia, no one has the right to hunt on Tahat Peak without
the permission of its owner, who is a descendant of the old Isebeten
tribe. At any rate, the skin, head, and half of the animal must be
handed over to him.

224 The Ahaggar Tuareg have had rapid-firing guns at their
411 disposal for a few years. They are not good shots, but they know
admirably well how to approach game, so that they have made
massive massacres which will take a long time to repair.

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The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these weapons.

[411/648]

It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

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Fishing. -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Ikkan engage in it. They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251]

When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

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Chapter 5

Agriculture

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The Ahaggar Tuareg have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

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The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the influence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghin oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the
[30] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more

[492] commonly used
[414] articles -- saddlery
[412] articles, cavessons for
camels, highly
ornamented padlocks



Fig. 50. Hammer.

with keys, hair knives, etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique [53] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian Arabs and the Sudanese.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms;
326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and
411 lances were for the most part manufactured by blacksmiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an iron mine which is located beside the village of Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally
[172] not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized in the camps.

Fig. 51.
Blacksmith's
tongs.



727 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals
714 to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did
426 not have to reimburse him.

724 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered
726 a ritual formula (narha! allar) which bound them together for the
duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give
mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer
/sing. of Imochar - Ea / but a man renowned for his courage, his
/322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind.
Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back,
taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary
to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition.
Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace
was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only
[262] a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal
264 only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march,
which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more
if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties: one
was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a
specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps
to sidetrack them.

● [711] The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men
deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them,
hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting.
The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out
the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they re-
treated or themselves attacked.

○ In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack,
these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not al-
ways cause deaths.

721 When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as in-
 727 terested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels.
 327 The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the
 others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

726 Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to
 the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other
 group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves,
 but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not
 wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders
 was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if
 they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off
 from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite
 deadly.



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 Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with
 copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered
 with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is in-
 tended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion
 to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels
 and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when
 they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they
 abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders
 were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men
 were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others
 tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar
 /encampment/.

727 When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty
 in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during
 the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tioussé demanded.

(86) more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this,
726 but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are
562 often more numerous than the others.

721 Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the
628 adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were
enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the
Sudan, the exactions of
Marabout Abidine's people
on the Kel Adrar Tuareg,
at the time of the murder
[411] of their aménokal
Safikroum in 1912, made
irreconcilable enemies
of these two fractions.

[648] At the beginning of
the French occupation,
when lieutenants
Cottenest and Guilho-
Lohan carried out their
reconnaissance missions
in the Ahaggar, they
found women abandoned
in the camps by their
husbands. The good care
which was taken of them
made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

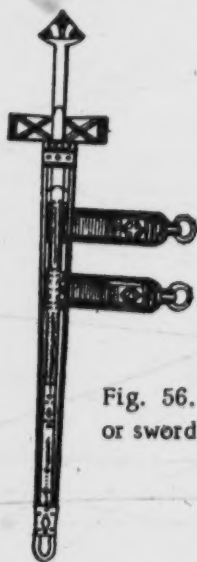


Fig. 56. The tacouba,
or sword.

411 Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden
staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

[77] /325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew
how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They
[437] were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

Lefauchaux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket-books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs. 411 437 554

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword

(tacouba), which is the weapon par excellence of the nobles; the iron lance (allar') carried by nobles and vassals; javelins with iron shoulder and point and wooden staff (tarda), which are set aside for vassals and slaves; and the forearm dagger (télak) provided with a leather ring so that it may be hung from the wrist. In the Sudan slaves also carry wooden clubs (tabouri), heavy branches with a knot at one end. 184 411 565 [531]



Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.



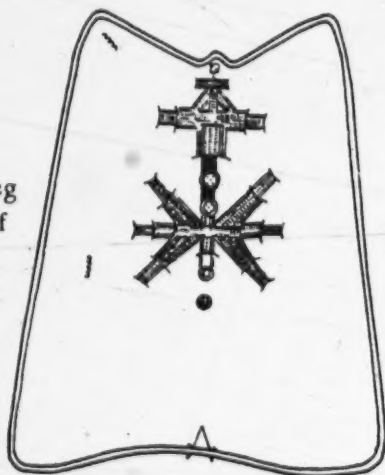
The Tuareg have only one defensive weapon, the buckler (ahrer) which is made of oryx antelope

skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs which it bears have a magic character. [531]

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand 411 714 with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers, which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts

411 and, if it is of good quality, it is liable to split a buckler in two.
714 The hand is protected by a little rectangular iron guard which gives the shape of a cross to the upper part of the sword.

114 Duveyrier, the explorer, noted that the Tuareg used the bow.
411 We have not found this weapon among them, nor any evidence as to what it used to be used for.



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Fig. 58. Tuareg
buckler made of
oryx antelope
skin.

411 All of these weapons have become very archaic in view of
[554] the arrival of rapid-firing weapons. The Ahaggar Imochar still
hold to their sword, which they always wear over their shoulders,
and which seems to be used more to indicate their social rank
than for warring action. In the Sudan almost all the Tuareg still
carry lances, and some of them carry forearm daggers. In Afr
one may still see a buckler hung from the saddle of a mehari. But
in a few years all these objects will be good for filling trophy
cases.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 239]

[Pp. 236-238 not processed]

PEARSON MUSEUM PAPERS

VOL. XXVIII, No. 2, FIGURE 24



Fig. 24. Tuareg warriors of the Ahaggar in single combat. (Photograph by P. Ichac, courtesy of the Musée de l'Homme.)

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

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eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

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The Bible in Tamahaq

(Ruth CA 2, Verse 17)

"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademaït, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthesised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Hart"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

4: Benhazera--17a G-5 (1905) 1908

MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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(Second Stage)



(Third Stage)

4: Benhazera--17b G-5(1905)

1908

MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



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(Fourth Stage)

4: Benhazera--18 G-5 (1905) 1908

MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



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(Fifth Stage)

As to the men, they practice throwing the spear as far as possible toward a certain object. They have mock battles with the "takouba" (saber) and shield, "ar'er"; or /22/ they roll up rags and try to cut them with a single stroke of their great "takouba."

Besides, there are few negroes who are not armed by their masters with a "tar'da" (spear with a wooden shaft) and with a "takouba" (saber), of which they are very proud. The best are sent on raids, and it seems that they acquit themselves very well in combat. 411
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As to the negresses, there are some who confine themselves to attending to the care of the household and the tent, but there are quite a few others who are raised to the dignity of concubines. A noble Tuareg prefers to share his bed with a negress rather than to marry a "tamr'idit" (serf). He marries late, and when he decides to, he looks especially for a woman who, by her /34/ birth, will give his children future rights to command. The negress profits from this. 563
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The negroes and negresses are not, as a rule, mistreated by the Tuareg. Besides, if the case should arise, they know how to use the following curious custom in use among the Tuareg. 563
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When a slave, negro or negress, becomes too unhappy with his master and wishes to become the slave of another master, he splits the ear of a child or a horse or hamstring a mehari; in short, damages anything valuable that belongs to the master he wishes to have; then he stays beside his deed. Naturally, in reparation for the harm done, the negro is given in full possession to the injured master. There may be protest, if there was connivance between the slave and the master he wishes to have, and, in this case, the oath is deferred and the case brought before a marabout or a cadi. [692]

Thus the negress Tenoufek, who belonged to Semana, sister of Bika ag Moumou of the Kel Ahnet, slit the ear of a mare belonging to Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Ta'toq and the Kel Ahnet. In reparation the negress was given to Sidi, with whom she still remains.

Another example: the negro of El Biodh ould Settafi of the Sertaf, hamstrung two camels belonging to Ibédi ag Bassi of the Ir'echoumen. In reparation El Biodh had to give Ibédi the negro and a camel besides. /35/

291 /100 cont. / The layers of leather may be a centimeter thick; the sewing of the leather with large stitches permits decoration. A long thong connects the leather buckles sewn on the sole and is tied over the instep. The elegant footwear is the "ighatimen."

293 A description of the Targui's apparel must include all of the objects he wears including weapons.

The "taralabt" is a leather wallet hung from the neck. An ingenious system of grooved closings keeps it from opening; it is always black and artistically decorated with yellow, green, or red stitching. Numerous inside pockets serve to hold the mirror, the "tazolt" (eye blacking, sometimes kept in a special case), the "chemma" (chewing tobacco), the "kelbou" (natron used to make tobacco milder), personal papers, and sometimes money.

Amulets called "tera" hang from the neck by a leather string; these are small leather rectangles containing either papers written by a taleb /public scribe/ or magic products protecting against sickness, the Kel es Souf /genii/, and misfortune in general. Each Targui is abundantly provided with tera, which make his life bearable.

293 /101/ The "iremdan" ("menguech" in Arabic) is an indispensable instrument; it consists of a cutting blade, an awl, 752 and small pincers (something like eyebrow tweezers) These 296 blades pivot around an axis; a ring makes it possible for the iremdan to be hung, but it is often carried in a special case. This tool is in turn a surgeon's kit for pulling tahla thorns from the soles of the feet and a cobbler's tool for repairing nalls /sandals/. A Targui never undertakes a trip without his iremdan.

301 We have already mentioned the "abidj," or polished stone bracelet. The "tissak" is a small silver ring without artistic value. The key to the Tuareg padlock, which is often suspended on the chest, is a much prized ornament.

411 No Targui undertakes an important trip without his "takouba," the sword worn at the side which gives that

411 /101 cont./ medieval look to the Tuareg, making them look as if they have emerged from a picture book. There are takouba and takouba; some are worth two young camels and are recognized by the grooves on the blade and the mark made by the maalem /craftsman/. The first-rate takouba is called "tazraït"; it has five grooves on the blade and a disk whose vertical diameter is topped by a cross; a tazraït should sever a camel hobble buried in the sand so that only five centimeters are showing. The "arlal" type has no groove but bears the same mark as the tazraït and is an excellent takouba, just as highly regarded as the latter. The "talit," worth substantially the same, does not have a groove but has the same mark as the tazraït, supplemented by a stylized lion. An "inaseri" costs half as much; it has three grooves and bears a crescent-shaped design with three points directed toward the center. The "tabloq" has a long central groove and is decorated with the silhouette of a lion; it costs the same as an inaseri. The "adadiglen" has never been carried by a coward; it is worth the same as a tabloq, has a long central groove flanked by two small ones; on each side of the large groove are two K's back to back. The "elghenihe" is a much rarer sword, although worth only half as much as an adadiglen; /102/ it has a single cutting edge, three large grooves, and a crescent with a point directed toward the center. The "tama," much more common, is worth scarcely half as much as the elghenihe; it can be recognized by its central groove, two small parallel grooves, and two crescents with only one point directed toward the center. There are other types of takouba of recent make; they are sometimes copies of the old blades but are easily recognized. Some old takouba do not bear distinctive marks, and one must be a true connoisseur in order to appreciate them.

One still sees Tuareg who carry the iron spear, the "allar," which was a throwing weapon for short distances. It is about 1.90 meters long. The spear is carried less and less. For hunting the wild sheep, a sort of javelin is used, the point and heel of which have the same shape as those of the spear; this weapon is called "tarrada."

411 /102 cont. / Let us mention for the record some weapons that are no longer carried: the "tilok," a magnificently decorated dagger held on the forearm by a leather bracelet; the "arrar," a shield of antelope skin, white, decorated in the middle with designs and metal trimmings; this large rectangle with rounded points gave the warriors a most impressive appearance. These shields are no longer to be found.

291 To finish with men's dress, let us note the "tabroq," a blanket coming from Timimoun called "dokali," worn on very cold days, which makes the Tuareg resemble certain American Indians.

The Tuareg women ("tamat" -- "tidedin" in the plural) wear clothes which in many ways resemble those of the men. They are not veiled, but when a stranger is presented to them, they hide their faces out of sheer modesty.

Like the men, they wear a long gandurah of tari called "erressoui," but the opening on the side is no longer than 30 centimeters under the arms. There is a white erressoui worn under the blue one. The woman also has a "takamist n'kora" that she puts on during a visit or for a festive occasion.

/103/ She wraps herself in a large rectangle of tari, three meters by two, called "afar." The padlock key is tied to a corner of the material, and serves as a counterweight when the afar is thrown over the shoulder.

The "ikarat" is the shawl for the head; when it is made of taguelmoust cloth, it is called "alechou"; it measures about 1.50 by 0.50 meters. During an ilougan, which is a kind of tournament on camel back, a rider snatches the alechou from a woman and flees, chased by the other Tuareg, who attempt to recapture the veil. The victor is highly regarded.

The "tabarikant" is a very large veil, three by two meters, whose very clear rose color gives a most happy effect; imported from Tripolitania, it is of very finely woven wool. The tabarikant is becoming more and more rare; it is handed down from mother to daughter and is worn only for festive

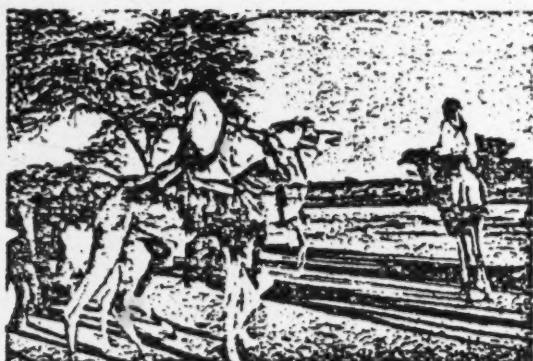


Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afageg* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two Southern Ayr, *hywiden*.

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Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

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Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16-18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

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In a ceremonial ride termed *shagan* (*shagan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

Signals to control Domestic Animals

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start around wells. It may happen, for instance, that two men who draw water from the same well get the ropes of their leather buckets entangled. They will then start to quarrel and the result may be a fight with swords.

I conclude this chapter with a brief description of the signals used by the Tuareg for their domestic animals. As these animals do not have the same needs for food and water and are frequently mixed with each other in camps and around wells, it is only natural that the Tuareg have different signals to call, stop, or drive away their various types of domestic animals. I have noted these signals among the Kel Ferwan Tuareg of Southern Ayr:—

Signals to call domestic animals:—

goats	ay, ay	the three rolling sounds are somewhat different though resembling each other
sheep	a rolling sound	
cows	a rolling sound	
camels	a rolling sound	
donkeys	ahay, ahay	

Signals to stop animals:—

goats	aw
sheep, cows, camels	ör
donkeys	as

Signals to drive away animals:—

goats	äy	pronounced emphatically
sheep, cows, camels	hey	
donkeys	aheyt	

Fig. 99. Tuareg drawing water for camels which drink from a piece of canvas (*isfarawt*) placed over a hollow in the ground. Ahaggar, the Kel Ah-net tribe.



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Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly 224
by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less con- 211
sequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical 121
analysis of Tuareg culture.

AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle 136
(*ahenkof*, fem. *tahenkof*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*udad*; *Ammotragus lervia*). The 224
big gazelle (*énir*; *Gazella dama perlusta*) and the addax antelope (*amellul*; *Addax nasomaculatus*) are
very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*anhél*;
Struthio camelus) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated.

The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively 224
easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps
visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate
that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no 262
true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members
of a single household - in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle 237
skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important 283
domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much
esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for
amulet cases, reins for riding camels.

Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still
fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past
when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat
of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of 257
barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these 237
animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on 242
journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers 215
(Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222).
Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and 157

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Fig. 112a-c. Tuareg spears.

- a. Spear of the *tarja* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.80 m (N.M. G. 1.156).
 b. Iron spear of the *allor* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by Olufsen. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
 c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*tarja*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949-50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it is tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanrasset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

[411] (1) The spear (*tarja*; Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before [562] rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear [565] takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

[171] (2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, [172] the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

Hunting in Ayr

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Fig. 117. Fishing pool
(*agelmam*) in Tasitén-Ajjer.

136 sunset. There are wild pigeons by the thousand and innumerable flocks of guinea fowls and partridges (*Alectoris* sp.). Two species of turtle-dove are almost as common in Ayr as is the sparrow in Europe.

224 Possibilities of hunting are much more favourable in Ayr than in Northern Tuareg countries, yet, nevertheless, the Ayr Tuareg engage even less in hunting than do the Ahaggar Tuareg. One reason

140 for this is perhaps that very few Ayr Tuareg possess guns. It is extremely rare to meet hunters in Ayr.

224 They are found mainly within one tribe, namely that of *Imedderaren* (or *Kel Tamgak*) living in the

433 Tamgak Mountains of Northern Ayr. I have myself never visited camps of these people, but all Tuareg agree that they live largely as hunters and possess few domestic animals. Unfortunately, these people

119 have never been studied in detail. Buchanan, who met a hunting band of these Tuareg in 1920, says

223 that they have neither goats nor grain, but live by hunting and the collection of wild edible plants (Buchanan 1921, p. 191), while Campbell, who met them at Iferwan in 1926, describes them as hunters who also breed goats and sheep (Campbell 1928, p. 204 f.). Rodd also states that the *Kel Tamgak* have goats and sheep, but that they do not possess camels (Rodd 1926a, p. 307). This is in agreement with information gathered by myself at Iferwan where I met a few Tuareg of this group. There are

224 no Ayr Tuareg who live exclusively by hunting and collecting. The number of game animals killed

224 annually among the Ayr Tuareg is apparently also a low one. Brouin estimates that about 200 oryx antelopes, 3-10 of the protected giraffes, and 100-1000 gazelles are killed annually by native hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 435).

Traditional hunting methods in Ayr are as follows:—

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(1) Hunting by means of the spear (*tarḍa*). This weapon is fitted with a wooden shaft like the hunting spear used in Ahaggar, but the slender barbed spear of the Tebu is also used by many Ayr Tuareg.

(2) The use of stalking animals. Cf. the Ahaggar Tuareg above (p. 158 f.).

(3) Hunting in disguise. The Ayr hunters employ a disguise of straw. Bundles of straw are attached to the hunter's body, and the hunter furthermore carries a big straw-bundle in each hand. Walking in a bent position he is able to approach the game (gazelle and antelope) in this way. It is very probable that skin-clothing has also been used as a disguise (cf. Brouin 1950, p. 447 f.).

(4) The running down of game animals by men mounted on camels or horses is a method rarely employed within the Ayr Massif, though practised by certain Tuareg inhabiting the southern plains.

(5) Hunting with dogs. This is practised in the mountains. Barbary sheep are attacked and surrounded by the dogs, and normally killed by means of the spear. — It is said that a hunter having no dogs at his disposal can make a barbary sheep stop if he barks like a dog.

(6) Hunting by driving the animals into closed river valleys. The method is said to be used for

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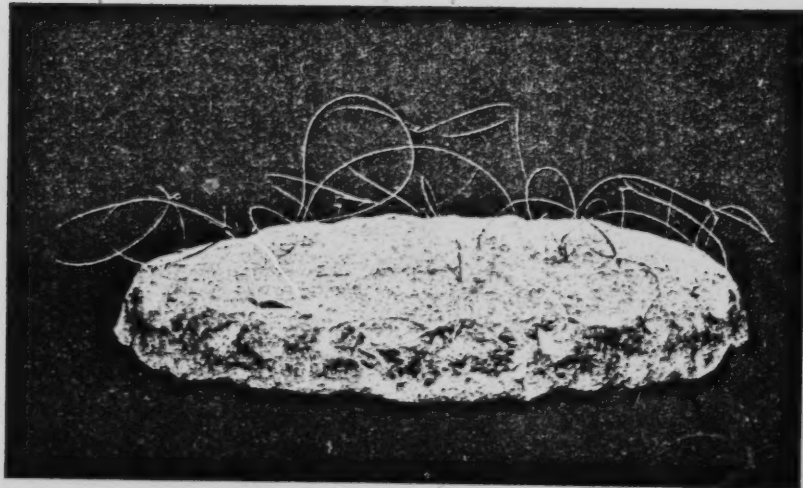


Fig. 118. Snares (*i'izagla*, sing. *izzek*) made from hair and inserted into a piece of sun-dried clay. Used for little birds which are fed with millet placed upon the piece of clay. Ayr, boys of the *Imeggadesen*. Dimension: 0.15 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 4622).

Hunting Methods in Ayr . Bow and Arrows

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catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mekkeren. The method is not used 224
for proper game animals.

(7). A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *turunt*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*lawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*turunt*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbat*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the negroid *Imeggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118). 223
[257]

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tamgak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of 262
game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *arata* lizard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzaram*, in Ayr as *emekkeechu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizards do not play any part in Tuareg mythology – the *arata* lizard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks, whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*afaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*lahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or 252
[332] are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty.

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper 411
hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not. [119]

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allar*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*ilek*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with this weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *tarayyé* or *tagahé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *lmurren*, sing. *amor*, *ortimassabin*, sing. *tanassabi*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays 524
very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by

[Text continues on p. 169]

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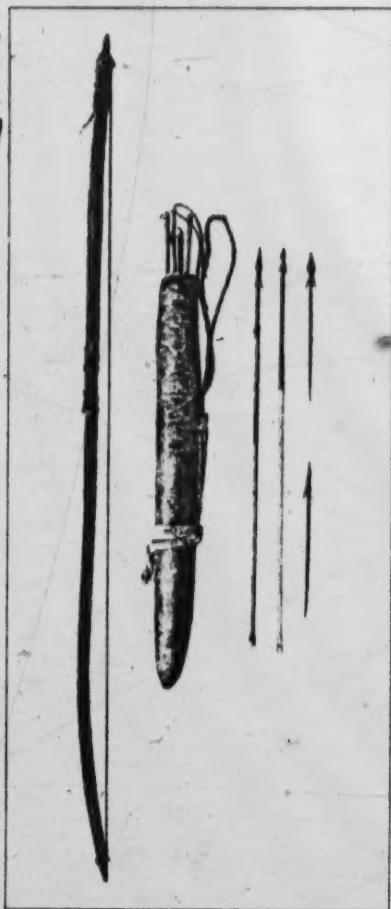


Fig. 119. Bow (*saganzé*), arrows (*imeran*), and quiver (*dhamaren*) from the Hausa-speaking population living south of Ayr around Aderbissinat. The bow is made from wood of a tree called *édinen* and has a string of ox-hide. The arrows have shafts of wood or reed; their iron points are made by blacksmiths. The quiver is made from ox-hide with a plaster of cow's excreta applied to the inner side. Dimension of the bow: 1.20 m. (N.M. G. 6621).

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Fig. 120. Tuareg clubs.

- a. Wooden club (*ebari*). Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 1.159). Ahaggar, Olufsen's Collection.
- b. Wooden club. Used for weapon and for cattle-driving by Tuareg around Timbuktu. Made from a bough of *Combretum aculeatum*. Collected by O. Hagerup. Dimension: 1.39 m long. (N.M. G. 3086). All slaves I saw among the *Jullemmeden* near Ayoru carried this weapon.

Bow and Arrows

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Fig. 121a-b. Tuareg sword and dagger from Ahaggar.

- a. Sword (*saksbe*). Dimension: 0.925 m. (N.M. G. 1.141).
 b. The so-called arm-dagger (*djal*). Dimension: 0.475 m. (N.M. G. 1.145).
 Olufsen's Collection.

adult people, though bow and arrows like those depicted Fig. 119 are in general use among the Hausa 41/ and the Fulani within the territory inhabited by the Ayr Tuareg. It is very possible that bow and arrows were used as weapons among the Tuareg in the past when fire-arms were uncommon. This is claimed by certain older authorities, but it seems as if the weapons were manufactured in Damergu south of Avr where the bow is traditionally used by negroid peoples (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 445, pl. XXV, [77])

- 411 p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *efezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals - there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Inestlemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

224 Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. Today true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Timgak* or *Imedkeraren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals within two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

Age	Male	Female
Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . .	<i>awhim</i>	<i>tawhimt</i>
Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . .	<i>ahyar</i>	<i>tahyart</i>
Fully grown animal	<i>ahenkoj</i>	<i>tahenkoj</i>

224 Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

784 (1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's
777 nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

The Eurafrian Steppe-Hunting Culture

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from an ancient cow-breeding culture. This we know formerly existed in the Sahara where cows are very frequently represented in rock-engravings. There can be little doubt that hump-less long-horned cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type, which are still found in isolated parts of the Western Sudan, once existed in the Sahara, and it is extremely remarkable that Huard has been able to show that horn-deformation like those practised in Ancient Egypt on *Bos primigenius* cattle, and those still practised on oxen among the Nilotes, can be proved to have been in use over most of the Sahara, where such deformation is frequently seen on ancient cattle-pictures. It may be that one or two of his examples are doubtful, but on the whole they seem to be reliably interpreted, and I think with Huard that we should take the rock-engravings of the Sahara as a proof that the so-called East Hamitic Culture was formerly represented all over North-west Africa (cf. Huard 1953, p. 75-106, and notably 1959, p. 109-131). Long-horned cattle seem to have been found among the Ancient Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96), who according to Baumann also possessed traits in common with the East Hamitic Culture. We do not know when the nomads of the Sahara stopped to breed long-horned and humpless cattle, but the Ayr Tuareg, who are now zebu-breeders, claim that cattle-breeding is not an ancient occupation among them. They seem to hold that cattle were rare in Ayr even as recently as up to the beginning of the French penetration, and they claim that they know less about cattle than about other domestic animals. They also have rather few cattle terms compared with the extensive glossary for other domestic animals. It might be contended that the milking customs of modern Tuareg are derived from an ancient cattle-breeding culture of the Sahara but in general this is not the whole explanation, for it seems as if some of these traits have been introduced or re-introduced into the Sahara with camel-breeding, which originated in the same area from which the East Hamitic Complex must have come to Africa.

Our last problem is to consider Tuareg culture in the light of the so-called *Eurafrian Steppe-Hunting Culture*, which Baumann believes to have existed over most of Africa. He finds remains of this culture among the Ancient Libyans, and he thinks that certain rock-engravings of the Sahara prove that this primitive hunting culture was once widely distributed in the desert, while at present the steppe-hunting culture is mainly preserved on the outskirts of the Sahara. It seems as if the Tuareg have very few elements which can be placed within this culture. They lack the bow and arrow and also the true throwing stick or throwing club, they do not use parts of animals for disguise, and they do not poison water places to kill game, though in pre-European times they killed their enemies in this way. They know the spiked wheel-trap stated by Baumann to be an Eurafrian trait, but I believe with Lindblom and Lagercrantz that this hunting device is not so ancient (Lindblom 1928; Lagercrantz 1950, p. 96), and it can be mentioned in this connection that the torsion traps are also comparatively late arrivals (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 103 ff.; Lips 1927, p. 271). This may be the case also with dog hunting as practised to-day, for greyhound-like dogs are probably not the oldest hunting dog. Hunting barbaric sheep with dogs and spears is depicted in a rock-engraving near Rat (cf. Frobenius 1933, pl. 28a), but, as generally the case with rock-engravings, it cannot be dated. A type of greyhound was known already in prehistoric Egypt (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 86 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 124 ff.) which may perhaps also be considered the cradle of Tuareg greyhound-like dogs, while the true greyhound, or *shaki*, was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs. The use of stalking animals is most

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and the manufacture of decorated leather-bags, camel-reins, etc., and decorated wooden milk-bowls, 565
the noble women do extremely little work. 462

Among the *Kel Ajjer* we find some of the above-mentioned distinctions between noble Tuareg and 565
vassals. The traditional dwelling of many vassal Tuareg of Tasile-n-Ajjer is the cylindrical hut (house) 342
with a conical roof, though vassals in winter use skin-tents during nomadic migrations. Nowadays
noble and vassal Tuareg alike live in straw-huts throughout the hot season. Barth, in his description 565
of the *Kel Ajjer*, mentions that the vassals have no right to possess iron spears and swords (Barth 411
1857-58, I, p. 257), but it is stated explicitly by Duveyrier that noble Tuareg and vassals have the
same weapons - the shield included (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). There can be little doubt that Duvey-
rier's statement is true, and I have been told among all Tuareg that in the past noble and vassal Tuareg
did not differ in regard to weapons. A distinction would also seem rather strange in view of the fact
that Tuareg of both classes fought together. Barth says that noble Tuareg and vassals differ in dress,
but he does not give details (Barth 1857-58, I, p. 257).

As to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, both noble and vassal Tuareg say that in the past 565
there were hardly any cultural distinctions between them. Bride-wealth in both classes was paid in
camels. We know that the Ayr vassals in the past were predominantly goat-breeders, like many Ayr
vassals to-day, and it seems as if camel-breeding was once a privilege of the nobility in the *Kel Ferwan*
group (cf. p. 431; cf. tradition on the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan*, p. 421). I have not been
able to find differences between the two classes in regard to material culture and social organization.
The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group say that they never have had types of portable dwellings
other than the barrel-vaulted mat tent, which traditionally belongs to the woman.

There is very little information about cultural distinctions between noble and vassal Tuareg in other
groups. Among the *Iwlemmeden Kel Ataram* the vassals apparently use the arched mat tent more
frequently than do noble Tuareg, but this and the skin tent supported by vertical sticks carrying cross-
bars are found in both classes (cf. Barth 1857-58, I, p. 372 f.; Gabus 1945, p. 361 & 1948a, p. 15 &
1948b, p. 16). Among the *Iwlemmeden Kel Dennek* the mat tent is used by certain noble Tuareg
(Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f.). According to the chief *Amder* women's riding saddles for camels (*akhawi*)
among the *Kel Ataram* are found only in noble tribes. Vassal tribes of the *Kel Ataram* living close to 420
the Niger even to-day practise matrilineal rules of inheritance and succession in contrast to noble
tribes with rules of patrilineal succession and Koranic inheritance (cf. p. 457).

Cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals are particularly prevalent in the two groups
of Northern Tuareg, and it is significant that the traits characteristic of the noble class are also common
among the *Iregenaten* who live in Tamesna. This tribe is said to descend from mixed marriages be-
tween Tuareg women of the *Ibetenaten* tribe, which claims noble descent, and Arab men. This ex-
planation is found in literature (cf. Lhote 1955, p. 238 f.; Briggs 1958, p. 100) and has been confirmed
to me by Tuareg of this tribe. It is interesting that some traits characteristic of the noble tribes among
the Northern Tuareg are also found in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The tribes of this latter class 177
are said to be related to Arabs among whom we also find some of these traits.

We do not know when the noble Tuareg in the northern groups adopted traits that are also found 177
among Arab bedouins. One might perhaps venture the theory that some of them were introduced

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412 GENERAL TOOLS--cutting tools (e.g., knife, ax, adze, chisel, wedge, plane, scissors, saw, sickle); boring tools (e.g., awl, needle, drill, augur, bit, reamer); abrading tools (e.g., scraper, file, grindstone); striking tools (e.g., maul, hammer, pestle); eating utensils (e.g., knife, fork, spoon); digging tools (e.g., digging stick, spade, pick, hoe, shovel); gripping tools (e.g., tongs, tweezers, pincers, vise, grapple, wrench); miscellaneous tools of general utility (e.g., broom, brush, fan, comb, rake, fork); parts and their assembly (e.g., blades, handles); See also:

Lashings 294 Hardware manufacture 391

furniture. These objects are not numerous and reflect the primitive life led by the Tuareg. 362

On the left side of the tent is generally found the goatskin water bag, hung on two wooden stakes placed in a V-shape. An old piece of cloth often covers it to protect it from the sun. The waterskin is often empty, for the Tuareg are not very farsighted. When there is water, they drink; when /229/ they are out of it, they stay there waiting a half day until the Ikian get back from the well. [415
271]

Fig. 28.
Tent shovel.



When a traveler passes by, he is most generally assailed with demands for water, while he himself often hoped to find some in the camp. [412]

In front of the door and close to all the tents is an enormous wooden mortar and its pestle, in which the servant girl crushes millet and dates. By searching a bit in the tent or in the shelter used as a kitchen, one may find two or three hemispheric wooden dishes destined to hold food and two or three conical bowls serving as drinking vessels. Hanging on one of the outer stakes of the tent are a wooden milking vessel, an esparto winnowing basket for sifting millet flour, serving at the same time as a dish cover, one or two little esparto mats which can serve the same purpose, and finally a few wooden spoons. Each mistress of a tent has a little [415
357]
[252]
[283]
600

● 412 *Each mistress of a tent has a little*

356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/

Chapter 3

Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, béchéna (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

[552] The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
[484] their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

[101] It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong culturally to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

243 he generally carries with him in his migrations. Wheat raising
262 goes down to the Sudan as far as Timbuktu, Aïr, and a little north
of Nigeria; but everywhere it has been introduced recently, due
to the influence of the Arabs, who have not abandoned their
traditional food.

412 Béchena is a food
they adopted because
of their exodus toward
the Sudan; they are at
the present time much
closer to the Sudan than
they are to North Africa
from the point of view
of material living con-
ditions, that is, unless
this plant formerly
existed in a self-sown
state in the Sahara, as
Professor Chevalier has
assumed, and was one of
the principal food re-
sources of its first in-
habitants.

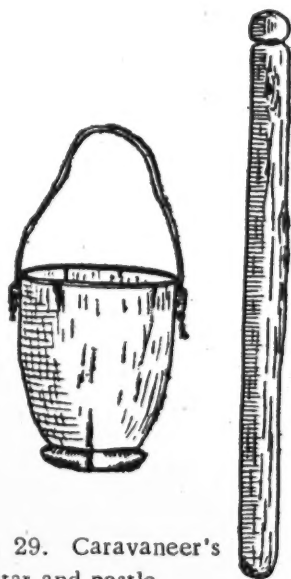


Fig. 29. Caravaneer's
mortar and pestle.

177 By its agriculture
241 and its production, the Sahara is completely Negro. Agricultural
methods, except for irrigation, /231/ are borrowed from the
Sudanese, especially work with the hoe (daba), while North Africa
mainly uses the plow which is unknown in the intertropical zone.

252 Béchena is eaten as a cooked flour porridge, as raw flour, or
262 mixed with liquids, water or milk.

Dates also play a large part in the diet of the Tuareg. Every
year each family head organizes a little caravan to the Touat or
438 Tidikelt to bring back two or three loads of poor-quality dried
484 dates which are crushed with a pestle and eaten with camel's milk.
973

136 several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species
 [172] bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species
 are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

137 At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats
 233 and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing
 185 the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The
 Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main
 branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in
 a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in par-
 ticular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has

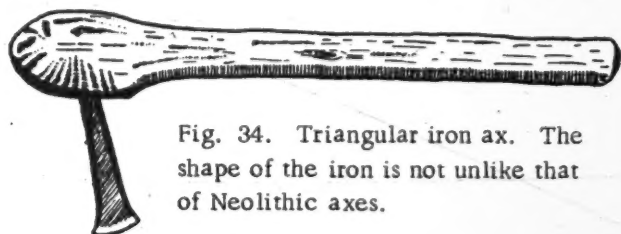


Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

132 Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts
 233 goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and
 mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of
 animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed
 to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable
 rains.

232 The careless and fatalistic Ihaggaren do not even try to step
 up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in Aïr. They let their
 weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which
 [232] sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of
 births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless
and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed
[304] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily
ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of
the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the
body is to that end.

291 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily
302 dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue
color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become
prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They
rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired
color.

302 To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their
[171] limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is
also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth.
They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal
[413] and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed
to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora
[24] persica) or palm jereed.

302 /258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring
for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft
of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little
halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed
[543] by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer
279 them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region.
[181] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids
may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a
[287] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have them-
selves shaved completely.

302 The women also wear their hair braided in a number of plaits which hang beside the temples. They coil each other, and since the job requires many hours, it is done only once or twice a month.

[412] They begin by untangling the hair by means of a small comb, at the same time filling the hair with sand and wood ashes. Next they

[515] proceed to delouse it, for each Tuareg head of hair generally harbors a whole little world of insects.

Then the hairdresser separates the hair into bunches, using a small knife, soaks it with water and butter, and braids it, either in large braids so that there are three or four hanging on each side, or in many small braids.

[751] They smear their hair with butter for no other reason than to protect it against the sun and especially against the dry air which makes it brittle.

The men let their beards grow, but they almost always shave their mustaches or cut them very short so /259/ that they do not get in the way under the veils which cover the lower part of their faces.

Men and women shave the pubis.

[754] After dressing the hair or shaving, the Tuareg always bury their hair or down, for fear that people who wish them harm might get hold of them and take them to some sorcerer who could use them to make fearful evil spells.

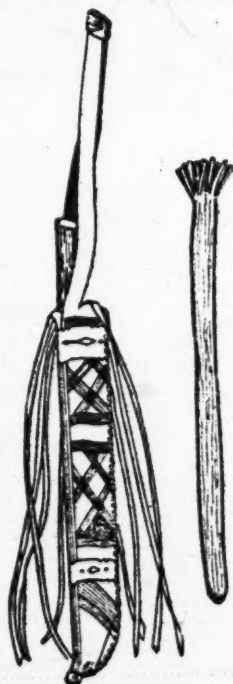


Fig. 35. Tooth brush of irak wood with its leather case.

302 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they
 751 put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the
 eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute
 [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in par-
 ticular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

The Tuareg appre-
 [326] ciate the long, narrow
 hands of people who do
 no manual labor. They
 do not take any particular
 [412] care of them and are
 [531] satisfied merely to cut
 212 their nails rather short.
 As they do for hair, they
 bury the scraps so that
 no one can take them.

304 Tattooing. -- Make-
 [171] up. -- Unlike the Kabyle
 and the Berbers, the
 Tuareg are not tattooed.
 This detail, which may
 seem insignificant, never-
 theless indicates that the
 relationship of these
 different human groups

is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such
 appreciable differences in mores.

184 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by
 304 tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the
 Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among
 Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the
 [751] skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their
 [517] lips and around their mouths with indigo.



Fig. 36. Hairdressing
 knife, bearing the name
 of the artisan who made
 it in tiffinagh char-
 acters.

- 30 Under the necklace Tuareg women wear /274/ pectoral pendants, a small one shaped like a lozenge with a red stone set in it and embellished at the base with little triangular plaquettes, and another
- [53] large-sized one made of several triangles with big silver cabochons, each one decorated at the base with small triangular plaques.

The style of these jewels is simple and quite peculiar to the Tuareg.

Although their triangular shape recalls somewhat that of Kabyle jewels, it is nonetheless true that they show no relationship with the

[53] North African goldsmith's craft and that it is very difficult to explain their origin.

Tuareg women of the Ahaggar do not wear earrings but great massive silver rings which are hung on each side at the height of the ears by a leather thong which passes over the top of their heads.

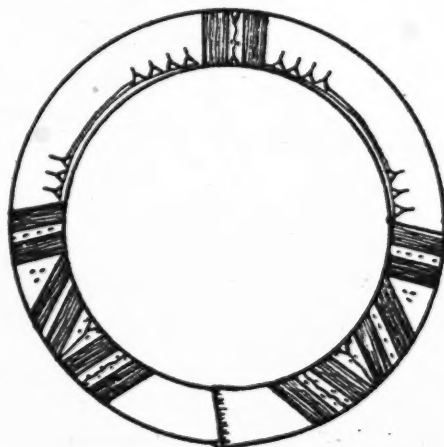


Fig. 44. Silver bracelet worn at the wrist by women.

Very often they also wear little hair pendants which are attached to the ends of their braids of hair.

Both men and women are supplied with little tweezers to extract thorns (the irremdan), which they wear over the shoulder. That of the women, which is copper and bi-triangular shaped, /275/ takes on the nature of a jewel, for it is carefully worked and has a real artistic character. That of the men is simpler; it is completed with a little awl and a knife blade and serves as a small portable surgical kit.

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the [30] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more

[492] commonly used
[414] articles -- saddlery
articles, cavessons for
[412] camels, highly
ornamented padlocks
with keys, hair knives,
etc.



Fig. 50. Hammer.

[53] This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51.
Blacksmith's
tongs.



438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms;
326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and
411 lances were for the most part manufactured by black-
smiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimiden from
Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and
mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel
Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an
iron mine which is located beside the village of
Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally
not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the
[172] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments
are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic
period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized
in the camps.

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
 852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
 412 azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
 302 collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
 an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
 period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
 Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
 855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
 556 girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
 trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
 that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
 the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly com-
 plicated for either the boy or girl.

868 The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
 857 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
 162 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
 milk goats, for among the Tuareg men, as a rule, take charge of
 this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
 fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
 between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
 stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
 speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
 869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
 camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
 212 Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
 are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
 145 when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
 291 father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
 131 ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good ad-
 vice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself the men's place is on the right as you enter
562 and the women's and children's on the left,
342 which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

Household furniture and effects include
352 sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North
[439] by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons, wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe
[415] an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of
• [412] different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush
[343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen, and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, a). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

361 Camps are always pitched in an inconspicuous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

24/ culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists
 [114] gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their
 [174] seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather
 think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little
 millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms
 by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively
 easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that
 a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important
 to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere
 agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many
 agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens
 as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few
 years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new
 [312] garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather
 shallow this work is comparatively easy.

171 There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese
 ● 4/2 farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of
 a thong (*tagoumit*). It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as
 further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting
 cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture es-
 [114] tablished by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260 ff. - Baumann 1940, p. 50 ff.; 1944,
 p. 213 ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered
 by him an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940,
 p. 56 ff.; 1944, p. 283 ff.). The sickle (Air: *elegesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact
 unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally
 used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for
 24/ fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:- millet is cut with a knife,
 171 maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat
 and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be
 known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295 ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can
 [415] perhaps also recognize the large clay amphorae used for the storage of cereals (Rodd
 1926, p. 317. - Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

174 We can conclude this section as follows:- While the negroes of Ahaggar ap-
 parently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest
 144 known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly
 563 as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of
 Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contacts with the north and in particular invasions
 of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the
 Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly
 negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old
 vocabulary.

6:Blanguernon--167 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

/179 cont. /

(37) Tamashek 824 Name	Arabic Name	Miscellaneous Observations
46. Zezeri	Zahta	Atakor. Is put in tea.
47. Tihéréguéli	Chih'	Perfumes tea, remedy for colic.
48. Amiou	N'gouth	Good pasturage.
49. Tamadjéhi	Kroumt	Very good pasturage.
50. Tataft	Elgouzah	Good pasturage.
51. Otaq	Mrenza	Mixed with crushed dates, fattens women. Bad odor.
52. Tedjourt	Hallala	Remedy for gastric troubles.
53. Terfes	Terfes	A sort of truffle.
54. Aliouen	Denoun	A sort of large asparagus.

/181/

VI

Tools

● 412 Here is a list of tools used by the maalmine; many of them are made by the users:

Tisadh: double-pocketed bellows.

Abaracha: piece of wood 50 x 20 x 6 centimeters, serving as support for an iron mass used as an anvil.

Tehount: iron mass 6 x 6 x 15 centimeters used as an anvil.

Afadis: hammer.

Tafadist: small hammer.

Irendan: tongs.

Takadimt: adz.

Tataout: chisel for wood.

Tadouft: ax.

} Neolithic-type hafting.

412 /181 cont. / Azazaoua: file.

Tazazaouat: small file.

Tasarest: burin.

Asfed: punch.

Timouda: shears.

Azazaoua ouan aserer: file for wood.

Anefif: ferrule for bellows.

Tibin: crucible.

Following is a list of objects made by the maalmines for the Tuareg; this list is certainly not complete.

/182/ Tanast: special Tuareg padlock, well known to tourists; the keys are artistically cut out and are not one of the least of the women's ornaments. Iron, brass, and copper combine to give a pleasing effect. There are padlocks with one, two, and three keys, work complicated for its own sake, as these tanast lock leather sacks which can be opened with a slit of the knife or by loosening a seam!

Tadef: small ax.

Moussi: knife with sheath, worn at the waist.

Indel: punch for leather work.

Iremdan (menguech in Arabic): an accessory consisting of a cutting blade, an awl, and small pincers.

Tazozlet: a kind of paper knife with a triangular blade of artistically worked brass. In Tuareg society it is not used as a paper knife but as a hair-dressing tool used to separate strands of hair before braiding.

Tistent: awl.

Tesougla: large sewing needle.

Allar: the Tuareg spear.

Takouba: the saber.

Tarada: the javelin.

Tilok: arm dagger.

Tamenast (menassa in Arabic): brass basin, indispensable accessory for every meharist, used for drinking, washing, making bread, digging abankor /water hole/.

412 /182 cont./ For the harratin, the maalmines make the hoe called aguelhim and the gheniet, which is a trap for wild sheep.

412 The Tuareg use wooden objects made by the maalmines;
415 these are mainly cooking utensils.

Akous: bowl for drinking milk. It often has small ears for easier gripping.

Azzka: is a very large akous capable of holding nearly six liters.

Tarahout: large, almost hemispherical dish, carved out in one piece. The wood is three centimeters thick. It is used for family meals.

/183/ Tarelalt: large dish with a fairly flat bottom; may be as large as one meter in diameter (rare).

Tendi: the wooden mortar.

Tharen: the wooden pestle.

Akabar: small mortar, sometimes pyrographed.

Tesoukalt: pyrographed wooden spoon.

Temoulalt: large pyrographed spoon (ladle).

Asseguafi: small wooden funnel.

Redjeredjaten: stakes for holding up the tent.

Tidjetouin: stakes with ornamented heads for holding the tent open.

442 Tarik (rahla in Arabic): the camel saddle. The maalmines of the Ahaggar repair them but do not make them; the most handsome ones come from the Aïr; these are the ones called tamazak and the akoka. However, the maalmines of the Ahaggar make a wholly wooden saddle called taïst, sturdy and used mainly for training the animals.

309 The principal jewelry worked in the Ahaggar is the following:

Tisak: the ring, of silver. Certain models have the lower part made of iron. The height of the rings is impressive: four to five centimeters; they entirely cover the lower part of the women's fingers, setting off the length and delicacy of their hands.

Camels . Milking Methods

59

233*
283

Fig. 39. A very young camel calf tethered in the camp by means of the *téndit* rope depicted below (Fig. 40). Tamenna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Iregmaten* tribe.

she-camels which are difficult to milk because they will not allow the calf to suck. The method has 234 been described to me by Tuareg of Ayr. It is named *arazak* and is as follows:— Fresh camel-dung is put into the nostrils of the mother-camel, and its nose is thereupon pierced at three places with an [1/2] ●awl a hole being made in each nostril and one hole between them. A cord of dum palm leaf is thereupon drawn through these three holes so that the nostrils are firmly closed, and the animal can consequently breathe only through the mouth. It is said that a she-camel which has carried this bandage for one day will be fond of its calf and will allow it to suck so that milking can be done.

Milking of she-camels is usually done twice a day, early in the morning and very late in the evening. In Ayr certain Tuareg milk their she-camels several times during the day, as the animals generally graze close to the camp and frequently come to the tents to see their calves. Milking between the two proper milking times may also be done with other domestic animals in Ayr if milk is needed for some purpose or other during the day, but it is practised particularly with she-camels, as milk gathers in the udder of these animals very quickly after milking.

Milking of she-camels is done by two men standing at the sides of the she-camel and leaning their [462] heads against the animal (Fig. 36). One of the men holds the large wooden milk-bowl *akabar* (Figs. [415] 37-38)

[text continues on p. 61]

* 492
[564]
[4/2] that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of the more developed riding saddles of the *terik* and *tahyast* types.

[286] All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *aseifer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from the luggage and/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *ésellis* (Ayr) and *ameslak* (Ahaggar). Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66-67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahuyif* (Ahaggar) or *azuw* (Ayr). In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). On rare occasions when the Tuareg ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihwéwren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-legged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkou*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasile-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a-b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

* 492 The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35-0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *azulla*, or *ankrey* (Foucauld 1931 52. II, p. 856 & IV, p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

* 492
415 A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a

*492 household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature, and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys [445] [512] are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to [262] fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Dumergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed [484] in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt [179] that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

231 It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg. [262] The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known [257] to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *efinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

*492 The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transportation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:— [462] Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek-tree* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire. [824] The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this [322] position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide [237] soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b) [412] and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three [237] cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin [142] are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *istant* (cf. Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animal's back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tidmechari*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adrar-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Fernan*.

232 killed. This does not agree with Nicolas' statement that selective breeding is unknown among the
 114 *Iwillemeden Kel Dennek* for all types of domestic animals (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 133).

Superfluous bull-camels are generally castrated very late - rarely before they are six or seven years old, and frequently much later. But this is not to say that all bull-camels are used in breeding, as those used for riding and transportation are generally hobbled during grazing and copulation is thus effectively prevented. Bull-camels used in breeding are not always used for riding and pack animals, as they may be very savage and dangerous. In the rutting season they are left unhobbled among the she-camels.

The Tuareg consider it best to castrate bull-camels late, and say that bull-camels if castrated at a very early age will not develop fully, or become such good riding and pack animals. Bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate are not so difficult to control during the periods when she-camels are on heat. Nevertheless, when bull-camels are castrated they become more docile. But to the Tuareg it is more important that gelded animals easily grow fat and thus acquire the strength and endurance to enable them to perform the long and arduous expeditions connected with caravan trading and, in the past, also with raiding. In brief, castration of bull-camels is done as follows:— The legs of the animal to be operated are tied tightly with strong cords, and it is kept firmly to the ground by the weight of people sitting upon it. The operator thereupon cuts two slices in the animals scrotum and pulls out the testicles together with the spermatic cords. This must be done with great care because, it is said, the animal may die if one of the spermatic cords breaks. This method of castration by extraction is the only method used for camels, and it may also be applied to other domestic animals such as bulls, rams, he-goats, and in Ahaggar also to donkey stallions. In the north this extraction method is known as *aselbi* while the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr use the word *azam*. The latter people claim that castration by means of cutting and extraction should be performed in spring (*tabsti*) or during the early rains (*akasa*), as the wounds will heal properly at these seasons. The other important castration method used among the Tuareg is that of crushing the spermatic cords, it is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *deldar*, and is never used for camels but is frequently applied to he-goats, rams, and bulls. Crushing of the spermatic cords is done by means of stones or pieces of wood - frequently by beating with the heavy wooden pestle of the large millet mortar (cf. Fig. 177). I believe that this method is that most commonly applied to he-goats and rams, and Tuareg of Ayr claim that they can use this method all the year round as it leaves no wounds to be healed. Rams and he-goats may be castrated at any age and even very old animals are castrated to make them fat for slaughtering. It is claimed that it is best to castrate superfluous lambs and kids very early, preferably as soon as they are weaned.

I believe that the examples given above confirm my statement that the Tuareg are mainly rationalists in their stock-breeding methods. To elucidate this in more detail I shall now present my material on Tuareg veterinary knowledge. This material is unfortunately not very precise because the Tuareg distinguish between very many stock-diseases, and the treatments applied can be studied scientifically only by a veterinary surgeon. A description of stock-diseases is available for the northern parts of the Sahara ("Notice sur l'Institut Pasteur d'Algérie", I-II, 1934-1949), but there seems to be no particular study of Tuareg stock-diseases, which I know only by their Tuareg names. As I have not studied this rather special subject in great detail, I supplement my own material with informations gathered from literature.

Division of Labour in Stock-Breeding

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462 Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and
 231 transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is
 [492] needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Fernan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. — Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.



Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afeza* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the Teyna tribe.

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Fig. 123. Digging stick (*dlaweg*) which serves to dig up wild edible roots and other purposes. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.883 m (total length). (N.M. G. 5252).

Fig. 124. The wild plant *ihahelwen* (sing. *ahahel*) (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) which yields edible roots esteemed for food (bread). Tasilt-n-Ajjer.

Fig. 125. Skin bag of the *stchchékwat* type made from the skin of a kid and containing *adaman* berries (*Oxyris alba*). The berries are normally eaten fresh, but are also conserved in skin bags to be eaten later after soaking in water. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension of the skin bag: 0.33 m. (N.M. G. 5244).

- 222 *arenomad* (*Aristida plumosa* & *A. Adscensionis*). Tr. Seeds are edible.
- 262 *tulhult* (*Aristida pungens*). Tr. A perennial grass found in certain parts of Ahaggar and particularly
252 common further north (Ahnet, Immidir) and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Seeds are collected by men and women in the following manner:— The ears are cut with a sickle and placed in a piece of cotton (e.g., a cotton blanket known as *abroy*). The ears are left for drying, and threshing is done by beating with a stick. The husks are winnowed as described for wheat and barley (cf. p. 206), and seeds are then stocked in *agera* (a skin-bag). According to Foucauld collecting may also be done by digging out the nests of ants as these small insects stock a great many *tulhult* seeds (Foucauld 1922, p. 29 f.). — The *tulhult* seeds are used for bread and porridge, and are also eaten as *tébik* after pounding in a wooden millet mortar.
- [4/2] *lewliwen* (*Scirpus maritimus*). An annual plant having edible fruit in its roots (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1098).
- taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Tr., L.M. Young shoots are edible.
- izéyan* (*Asphodelus tenuifolius*). Tr., L.M. Eaten when vegetable food is scarce.
- telokat* (*Ficus salicifolia*). Tr. "Les fruits murs, de couleur rouge, sont tendres, un peu sucrés et comestibles" (Maire 1933, p. 76).
- [5/2] *adamam* (*Oxyris alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Its red fruits or berries are eaten as a relish. A bowl of berries is frequently offered to guests of Tuareg camps.
- tanezmims* (*Rumex vesicarius* & *R. roseus*). Tr. Inedible according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1922, p. 85), while Foley states that leaves of this plant are eaten after boiling (Foley 1930, p. 42).
- tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual herb which is particularly common in the mountain of Asekrem. The small black seeds are collected in bowls or similar receptacles by rubbing the plants with the fingers. The seeds are ground into flour, which is very suitable for bread and porridge.
- aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds and boiled leaves of this plant are eaten when vegetable food is very scarce.
- ébedébed* (*Boerhavia agghutinans* & *B. repens*). Tr. An annual plant with edible seeds.
- éthéyefyf* (*Alzoon canariense*). An annual plant resembling the *twuit* plant and particularly common in the upper mountain zone. Seeds are used for bread and *tébik*, but not for porridge.
- agar* (*Maerua crassifolia*). Tr., (L.M.). A tree yielding edible fruit.
- tadant* (*Boscia senegalensis*). A tree or bush which is extremely rare in Ahaggar where its edible fruit are consequently consumed very rarely.
- aggasit* (*Farsetia Hamiltonii*). Tr., L.M. A seed-plant.
- ahereya* (*Alyssum libycum*). An annual plant which is rare in Ahaggar, while common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Eaten after boiling in water.
- azezzeza* (*Diplotaxis acriis*). The plant is rare in Ahaggar. Its leaves are boiled and eaten.
- tanekfayt* (*Eruca sativa*). Tr., L.M. Leaves are eaten raw or boiled.
- tamaght* (*Moricandia arvensis*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant — a kind of wild cabbage.
- alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea*). Tr. An annual plant. "Les Touareg mangent la feuille cuite et essorée, sans sel. La plante jeune donne une salade assez analogue à la Roquette, quoique d'un goût moins agréable" (Maire 1933, p. 111).

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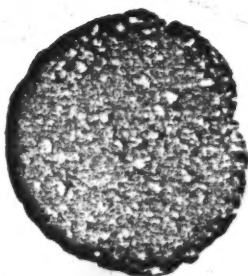


Fig. 126. A cheese-like mass of adamam berries (*Oxyris alba*). The fresh berries are pounded in the large mortar (*tindf*) or are crushed between two stones to be formed into pieces of cheese form to be dried. This cheese-like mass of adamam berries is used by Tuareg women as a kind of face ointment against sun burn, pimples, and the like. They apply this ointment to the face as follows:— A little milk is poured upon a stone, the cheese-like mass of berries is rubbed against it, and the mixture of milk and berries is thereupon rubbed into the skin of the face with the fingers. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.075 m. (N.M. G. 5279a).

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enag (*Leptadenia pyrotechnica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

tañhart (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

awit, generally known by the collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., (L.M.). An annual plant used as an aromatic for tea.

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éfeleleh (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *salezlez*). Tr. This plant is extremely venomous for human beings, though not for animals. In the past it was used by the Tuareg as a poison for enemies. Members of La Mission Flatters (1880-81) were poisoned by the Tuareg using poison of this plant inserted into dates presented to the expedition. "La plante, absorbée à petite dose, aurait la propriété de faire engraisser. Les femmes du Tidikelt l'emploient dans ce but, en en faisant cuire une petite quantité dans de l'eau avec de la farine et de la graisse; elles laissent réduire et absorbent la bouillie obtenue, puis se couvrent pour transpirer (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 192).

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ahahel (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots. After drying the roots are pounded in a large millet mortar to be used for bread which is much esteemed by the Tuareg. "Cette plante est récoltée jeune par les indigènes, puis placée dans le sable sous une couche de *drinn* (*Aristida pungens*) jusqu'à noircissement et dessiccation. Le produit sec est moulu et utilisé dans l'alimentation (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 196).

éfekekchi (*Orobanchae aegyptiaca* & *O. cernua*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots.

tanzeili (*Orobanchae sp.*). Tr. Very rare. A plant yielding edible roots.

segelles (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

alkeq (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr. Rare. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

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takkilt (*Cotula cinerea*). Tr. "Les Touareg utilisent cette plante comme condiment, principalement pour la viande qui commence à se gâter" (Maire 1933, p. 209).

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séheréggel (*Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*). Tr., (L.M.). "Cette plante, comme le *Myrtus Nivellet*, est récoltée en grande quantité, séchée et exportée au Soudan, où elle est employée comme aromate et condiment" (Maire 1933, p. 212).

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zézeré (*Artemisia herba alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

Collecting in Ahaggar

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ajako. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unidentified (Maire 1933, p. 263). 222
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Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a-b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles. 222
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The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting. [867]
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Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *stem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*sigassate*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamar* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomach-ache. Ahaggar, the *Aghu-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149 a-b).

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND THE PRESERVATION OF CROPS

- 24/ The hoe forms the basic agricultural implement in Ahaggar and in Ayr. The type of hoe used in Ahaggar is known as *agethim*, and it is akin to that in general use among irrigation farmers of the northern oases. It has a very large and heavy iron head provided with a ring for the shaft. I believe that this type of hoe is particularly fitted for irrigation work, but it does not seem to be in general use in Ayr. I have seen it at Iferwan in Northern Ayr where agriculturists have much contact with Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have not seen it further south in the Massif where it seems to be unknown. The common type of hoe in Ayr is different; it is named *lagumit* and is hafted by means of a tongue (Fig. 143d). The same type of hoe is widely distributed in Africa south of the Sahara, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest type of iron hoe within the continent (cf. Feilberg 1934, p. 228-278).
- 24/ The hoe is used for agricultural work in general, for digging irrigation canals, making garden beds, and for the preparation of the soil. The hoe is not used for sowing cereals. Sowing in Ayr is known as *anabal* and is performed in the following way:— As many seeds as can be kept between the first and second fingers are pressed a little into the soil, and water is led into the garden beds immediately after sowing. I have myself never watched sowing, but I was told in Ayr that it was frequently done by old women. I think that this is probably connected with the belief in the mystic power known as *elbaraka* so characteristic of all North African peoples. For cereals contain this mystic power, which can be spoiled by unclean women. It is considered harmful to the *elbaraka* blessing if cereals are handled by menstruating women (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 230). The hoe is used for weeding, but the agriculturists of Ayr also have a special implement for this particular task. This is known as *elgechwal* and consists of a curved semi-circular iron blade hafted to a short wooden handle by means of a tongue (Fig. 143e). The semi-circular blade is sharpened at its outer and convex side which is pushed against the roots of weeds.
- 243 Various methods are used for the harvesting of crops. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer wheat and barley are always harvested by means of a sickle (*tanirch*) (Fig. 143a-b). The sickle in Ayr is known as *elgechwal*, like the weeding implement mentioned above. It is not used for harvesting crops, but for the cutting of annual grasses to be stored for fodder (Fig. 143f). In Ayr both wheat and barley are harvested by drawing the straws from the ground with the hands. In Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer sickles are also used for harvesting dates, while the date-growing agriculturists of Ayr use another method. They do not cut the bunches, but proceed in the following way:— When dates begin to ripen they enclose every bunch in a plaited pouch to protect the fruit from the ravens and other birds. The dates are harvested one by one when they are ripe, while those not yet fully ripe are left to be harvested later. Harvest is done in this manner about once a week until all dates have become ripe. Maize in Ayr is harvested by drawing the plant from the ground with the hand, and this work is normally facilitated by loosening the soil around the roots by means of the hoe. I do not know how maize is harvested in Ahaggar, where this plant is not so widely grown as in Ayr. Everywhere among agricultural people of Ahaggar and Ayr millet and sorghum are cut with a knife (Ahaggar, *elmusi*; Ayr, *c'ezgit*) (Figs. 171-172).

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Fig. 143a-f.

a-b. Sickles of the type used for harvesting wheat and barley in Ahaggar.

They are known as *amrek*, pl. *imrekhen*.

a. From Tamanyaset. Total length, 0.271 m. (N.M. G. 5256).

b. From Abalessa. Total length, 0.365 m. (N.M. G. 5828).

c-f. Agricultural implements from Ayr.

c. The short threshing stick (*aburi*). From Iferran. Dimension: 0.49 m. (N.M. G. 6618).

d. The hoe (*segmir*) hafted by means of a tongue. From Kel Ewey Tuareg near Agadez. Dimension: 0.70 m. (N.M. G. 6615).

e. The semi-circular weeding implement (*elgechwad*). From Iferran. Dimension: 0.295 m. (N.M. G. 6617).

f. The sickle (*elgechwad*) which is used for cutting annual grasses. From Agadez. Dimension: 0.305 m. (N.M. G. 6613).

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¹⁹⁶² It seems as if millet and sorghum are always harvested by women, while dates are harvested only by men. Other crops are harvested by persons of both sexes.

²⁴³ Threshing methods are the same in Ahaggar and Ayr. Wheat and barley, which are sheaved and dried before threshing, are beaten with a stick (Ahaggar, *aburi*; Ayr, *aburi* or *asedbof*). This threshing stick is an unfashioned bough of trees or date palms, but a short and club-like implement is also frequently used in Ayr (Fig. 143c). Threshing of millet, sorghum, and maize is done by pounding in a

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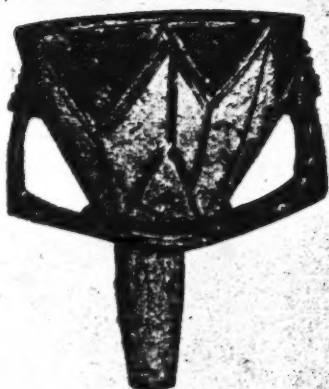
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Fig. 153a-b. Tuareg funnels (*émezeſley*, pl. *émezeſeſe*) which are used for milk, butter, and for other liquids.

- a. Wooden funnel ornamented by burning. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ral* tribe. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (F.M. 240).
b. Funnel plaited from straw of *salsgitt* (*Juncus maritimus*) with the rim reinforced with leather. Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ral* tribe. Dimension: 0.135 m high. (F.M. 243).

²³⁴
*4/15 In Ahaggar the method of churning butter is as follows:— Milk of the morning yield is put into a skin bag (*émezeſley*) (Figs. 156-157) to remain in this bag until next morning when churning takes place. During the hot season the *émezeſley*, filled with milk, is placed in the shade of the tent in daytime, while in winter it is placed in sunshine, or close to the fire. Some milk of the evening yield is sometimes added to the morning milk in the *émezeſley*. Before churning the milk thus soured is poured into the proper churning bag (*éſiſir*, *asewer*) which is inflated and shaken. Churning bags may vary in size; when there is little milk to be churned a little bag is used and shaking is done holding it in the hands (Fig. 158). When milk is very plentiful, butter is sometimes churned in larger bags (*asewer*), which at one end is attached to a pole, while shaking is done by pulling the other end of the bag with one or both hands. When the milk is shaken in this way it forms small white balls of butter which are removed from the churning bag with a wooden spoon (Fig. 191) when water has been added. This white butter (*udi wa mellen*, or *sewendu*) is occasionally used for food without further preparation, but this is not normal, for newly-churned butter is generally put into an earthen pot (*éſiſir*, or *afra*) (Figs. 186, 187a-b) together with parts of an annual plant known as *ayeneſis* (*Chenopodium pubescens*) (Fig. 160) to be heated over the fire. Some Tuareg also add meal of dried dates, or of horns of barbary sheep. After heating, butter (*udi*) assumes a dark yellow colour. It is stored in containers made of camel's hide (*ahattint*, *asagen*, *ayafih*) (Figs. 161-162), or in Sudanese calabashes (*arew*) (Figs. 163a-b). A particular metal pail (*éſir*) (Fig. 164) manufactured by native blacksmiths is also used for butter in Ahaggar,

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Fig. 155. Skin bag (*aasfra*) for the conservation of butter-milk on journeys. The bag is made from an entire goat-skin and has a handle of goat-hair cord tied to the skin patch of the hind legs. A leather handle is attached to the lower part of the bag which is ornamented with leather fringes. Ahaggar, the *Ajuf-ou-rah* tribe. Dimension: 0.77 m long without the fringes. (F.M. 89).

- 234 milk, and this butter is not considered as delicious by the Ahaggar Tuareg as their own butter, churned
 234 mainly from goat's milk. - The use of wooden churning sticks by means of which milk is stirred in
 234 an open container is unknown in Ahaggar and Ayr, so far as I know. Churning sticks are used in
 412 other Tuareg groups. They are common among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras (Musée d'Ethno-
 184 graphie, Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.44 & Musée de l'homme, Paris, no. 38.16.48) and among the *Iwillemeden*
 171 Tuareg and the Fulani (Musée de l'homme, Paris, nos. 41.19.411 & 41.19.1326).
- 234 All Northern Tuareg, as well as the Northern Arab pastoralists and semi-nomadic Berbers and
 171 Arabs of the Atlas, make cheese from butter-milk, while this type of cheese is unknown among the
 171 Southern Tuareg and also among the Fulani. In Ahaggar butter-milk cheese (*awies*) is manufactured
 171 by women in the following manner:— Butter-milk is heated over the fire in an earthen pot (*séfri*, or *sfrun*)
 * 415 (Figs. 186, 187 a-b) by which process the milk is divided into two parts, namely pure water and a curdled
 mass of milk (*akru*). This mass of curdled milk is placed in a special basket (*avugur*) (Figs. 167 a-b)
 hanging from a tree or a similar object to sort out the whey. Thus there remains a mass of cheese in
 the basket, and this mass is formed into small round pieces to be left for drying. Butter-milk cheese
 is manufactured in this way by all Northern Tuareg who are thus able to obtain butter and cheese
 from the same milk.

234 Another type of cheese is made from fresh milk and is manufactured not only by the Northern
 171 *2* [i.e. the Ayr Tuareg -- Analyt]

Meat

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Fig. 164. Pail (*ébir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Bali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230-0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).

they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. *Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food* 231
This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving, feast seven 232
days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of 553
the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrificed is kept 232
to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to 565
the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in 142
this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ésegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with 114
water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, 232
and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits 231
(Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all 231
animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common 252
method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *térint*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* 4/5 *
according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*ébir*) of European origin. Such European pots are 127
common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen
pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *ébir*, were also found among

camels. This blood never constitutes a proper dish to the Tuareg. They bleed camels to drink their blood only when they lack water on journeys in the desert. Bleeding is done according to the method described above, and the blood is collected in a drinking bowl. But the Ayr Tuareg say that they work up the mass of blood with the fingers with the result that the upper part of the amount of blood becomes more liquid, though it is always red in colour.

The Tuareg use the following implements to make cereals or other vegetable products into flour:—

(1) A large wooden mortar (*tindé*) with a heavy pestle (*éheren*) (Fig. 177). It is used in all camps and villages of Ahaggar, Tasile-n-Ajjer, and Ayr, and is in fact known all over Tuareg country. It is used mainly for pounding millet and sorghum, but it is also employed for pounding other cereals, including certain wild seeds, and for dates, cheese, meat, locusts, and the like. These large wooden mortars are manufactured by the blacksmiths of Southern Tuareg country, including Ayr, where most Northern Tuareg obtain their mortars. Among the Northern Tuareg there are also other mortar types. A small mortar which like the former rests on a foot and is known by the same name (*tindé*) (Fig. 178), is used mainly by sedentary agriculturists for pounding rock-salt, dried tomatoes, tobacco for chewing, and other plants or materials to be used in small quantities. Another type of mortar without a foot and known to the Northern Tuareg as *akabar*, or *takabar*, (Fig. 176) is found mainly among pastoralists who use it on journeys for pounding millet.

(2) A saddle quern (*tehnst*) (Fig. 179), which consists of two natural and in general unfashioned stones, is found in most camps of the Northern Tuareg. This constitutes the only grinding implement for wheat, barley, and certain wild seeds among the *Kel Ajjer*. The stones used for saddle querns are sharpened at intervals with a hard stone or some other hard object (*tasettekt*) in order that they may grind effectively. A simple saddle quern (*asar*) is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but it is less common there than in the north.

(3) The handmill (*tasirt*) (Fig. 181) is not a traditional implement of Tuareg culture. It is widely known all over Northern Africa both by Berbers and Arabs, by sedentary peoples and nomads living in black tents. It has been introduced to Ahaggar mainly by the immigration of the Arabic speaking

Harratin (Zeggaren) of Tidikelt,



Fig. 169a-c. Pieces of butter-milk cheese (*swiss*, pl. *-tahn*).

- a. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Abaleza. Dimension: 0.064-0.068 m in diameter, 0.022 m thick. (N.M. G. 5816).
- b. Ahaggar, the *Afub-en-rah* tribe. Dimension: 0.062 x 0.022 m. (N.M. G. 5817b).
- c. Ahaggar, the *Afub-en-rah* tribe. Dimension: 0.058 x 0.016 m. (N.M. G. 5817c).

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Fig. 170. Sacrificing a goat at the naming ceremony called *isnawen*. A marabut and the child's father keep the animal firmly to the ground. They stand with their faces towards Mekka and the camp of the new-born child. The marabut cuts the animal's throat simultaneously crying out loudly the child's name which is thereupon loudly repeated by the father. Ayr, the *Igendynen* tribe.

4/2 *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, and it is now also found in Tuareg camps (Fig. 182), where it is less frequent than the above-mentioned saddle quern. The handmill was entirely unknown among the Ajjer Tuareg during my visit to Tasile-n-Ajjer in 1952. The Tuareg who possess handmills obtain them from the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar (*Tamanaset*). - When saddle querns or handmills are used, a piece of cotton or skin (*asentel* in Ahaggar) is always placed under the grinding stones to catch the flour (Figs. 180, 182).

262 The Tuareg have many different vegetable dishes. The most important are bread, porridge, gruel, and various mixed beverages.

[262] Bread is a prominent dish for all Northern Tuareg who bake it mainly from wheat flour. Wheat bread has been my ordinary dish among all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasile-n-Ajjer. Lhote states that

Bread

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Fig. 171. Ordinary meat-knife (*elmusi*) of the type used among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Its broken handle is mended with hide of barbary sheep sewn with leather thread. Ahaggar, the *Dog Bali* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m (total length). (F.M. 249).

All knives are manufactured by blacksmiths.

wheat bread is eaten particularly during migrations and on trading expeditions, or in periods when 262
butter is rare (Lhote 1955a, p. 262). This statement disagrees with my own experience. Wheat bread 114
is an ordinary diet of many Northern Tuareg. Bread is also baked from barley and from certain wild 224
seeds (notably *tawit*, *Chenopodium Vulvaria*; *éhéyefyef*, *Alzoon canariense*; *tullult*, *Aristida pungens*)
and wild roots (*ahahel*, *Cistanche Phelypaea*), while millet and sorghum are considered less suitable
for baking. Seeds are generally prepared for baking by grinding them into flour by saddle querns or 252
handmills. In Northern Tuareg country there are two types of bread which have been introduced as 172
a result of contact with Arabs or the Arabic-speaking *Harratin*. One type is named *elfetat* and is baked



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Fig. 172a-b. Meat knives.

- a. Knife (*dreziz*) of Tebu type to be carried in its sheath around the upper arm. These knives are sometimes used in Ayr. Agadaz. Dimension: 0.370 m. (total length). (N.M. G. 6620a-b).
- b. Knife (*dreziz*) of the double-edged type normally used in Ayr. The *Imazzeweg* tribe. Dimension: 0.377 m (total length). N.M. G. 6663a-b).

Bread

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into fine-grained sand carried from the river bed to the fire place in front of the tent. When this heavy fire has calmed down the embers and most of the ashes are moved from the shallow depression to its fringes by means of a small stick, and the thin porridge or gruel of flour and water to which also a little salt is added is poured out into the depression, a spoon being normally used to remove all the gruel out of the wooden bowl in which it has been stirred. A bunch of dry grasses, herbs, or tender twigs is thereupon fired over the gruel in order that its surface may harden, and it is then covered with hot fine-grained sand, ashes, and embers in the order mentioned. If the embers are considered insufficient for baking, a small fire may be lit on the top of the sand and ashes covering the gruel-bread, which is taken out after about twenty minutes to be turned and baked in the same way on the other side for a few minutes. Baking is then finished, the bread is finally removed to be washed in water (Fig. 183). It is broken into pieces and eaten from a large wooden bowl (Figs. 195a-b) together with liquid butter. It is eaten with wooden spoons (Figs. 191).

The type of bread just mentioned is known to people of the *Kel Ferwan* group as *tugella*. It is made by very few Tuareg. Indeed, when I travelled together with Ayr Tuareg I very frequently baked my own bread as I had learned to from the Tuareg of Ahaggar, because very few of the Ayr Tuareg I met were familiar with bread baking. Bread is not a staple diet of the Ayr Tuareg, and when they want to bake wheat flour they generally do so in the following way:— The flour is mixed with water to a dough which is placed upon the bottom and sides of a metal pot heated over the fire. This type of bread or bread-like dish is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *gwasa*. It can be mentioned that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg also bake a particular type of bread from millet flour mixed with certain other plant materials, but a bread of this kind is not baked for ordinary food, but as a kind of medicine.



Fig. 174. Roasting meat-lumps by the *mechwi* method. Ayr, Ech-clikhes Tuareg of Damerga.

[Text continues on p. 241]

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Fig. 175. Meat-roasting in the ashes – the method known as *abatul* (Ahaggar) or *ebewil* (Ayr). Ayr, the *Irawatten* tribe.

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Fig. 176. Little mortar of the type known as *akabar*, or *sakabari*. This type of mortar is used by pastoral Tuareg on their trading expeditions, and it is provided with a handle (*ayaw*) of cord (goat-hair) for suspension. Ahaggar, manufactured by a blacksmith of Tamangaset, the *Aghab-en-tekli* tribe. Dimension: 0.23 m high, 0.16 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 111).

Bread

241



Fig. 177. The large millet mortar (*siudf*) with its heavy wooden pestle (*sheyen*). It is used almost daily for pounding millet in the camps and it is used also to pound other cereals, dates, and even meat. Mortars of this type are manufactured in Southern Tuareg country by blacksmiths. The specimen depicted is made of wood from a tree growing in the Sudan and known to the Northern Tuareg as *rwyla*. Introduced to Ahaggar from Zinder, the *Dag Bati* tribe. Dimension of the mortar: 0.445 m high, 0.299 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 1.255 m long. N.M. G. 5224a-b.

Fig. 178. Little mortar (*siudf*) with a short wooden pestle (*sheyen*). Manufactured from wood of *ahsey* (*Acacia Raddiana*) by a blacksmith of Tamanrasset. Ahaggar, *Harratla* of Targhawawt. Dimension of the mortar: 0.230-0.235 m high, 0.170-0.180 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5838a-b).

It is called *akamef* and is baked in the following manner:— The millet flour is mixed with juice of ²⁵² *sadent*-berries (i.e., berries of *Boscia senegalensis*) and also with certain medicines unknown to my ²⁶¹ ^(p24) informants who said they were of Sudanese origin. This mixture is made into a solid dough with a very small content of water, and is baked in the sand where it is covered with hot sand, ashes, and embers in the same way as the bread type known as *tugella* (*tagella* in the north).

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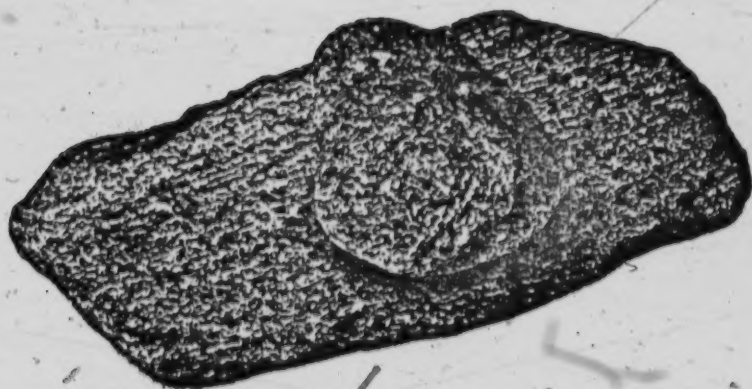


Fig. 179. Simple saddle quern (*rehant*) of two natural stones: (a) the lower part called *sehar*, (b) the upper part called *aged*. It is used for grinding cereals. Ahaggar, the *Agh-ew-terhé* tribe. Dimension of the lower stone: 0.360 m long. Dimension of the upper stone: 0.115 m. (N.M. G. 5839a-b).

- 261 This *eknef* bread is eaten exclusively by women who claim that it gives them a good appetite and makes them fat.
- 262 Millet porridge is a common dish among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it constitutes by far the most important vegetable dish to the Ayr Tuareg and the sedentary agriculturists of the south. Millet
- 252 porridge is known in Ahaggar as *esink*, in Ayr as *echink*. The preparation of millet porridge involves much strenuous work as follows:— (1) An amount of millet seeds is poured out into the large wooden mortar (*tindé*, p. 235, fig. 177). A little water is added to the seeds which are then pounded for about ten minutes. The seeds thus pounded are then poured out into a plaited bowl (*isbeyka*; Fig. 185) or another receptacle to be winnowed. This process is done by shaking the plaited bowl itself, and by pouring small quantities of the pounded seeds from the bowl into a plaited tray (*iséryt*; Fig. 184) which is better fitted for winnowing by shaking. The husks or pods covering the seeds are thus taken away by the wind. (2) When the pounded seeds have been cleaned or winnowed in this way they are replaced in the wooden mortar, and water is again added. The seeds are now heavily pounded for about half an hour, and most of them are turned into flour after this process, but a small amount of seeds remains unpounded. The mixture of flour and unpounded seeds are poured out into the plaited

Porridge

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bowl and the plaited tray just described, and the flour is shaken into the large wooden bowl (*elkada*; 252 Fig. 195b) while the unpounded seeds remain in the plaited receptacles. (3) The small amount of seeds 252 [B/15]* which have not yet been turned into flour is put back into the mortar, a little water is again added, and pounding is resumed for five to ten minutes. Most seeds are now turned into flour which is placed in the wooden bowl by shaking the plaited receptacles. (4) The seeds which are not yet pounded after this treatment are replaced in the mortar to be pounded for two or three minutes without the addition of water. The flour produced is shaken into the wooden bowl. (5) What remains unpounded is replaced in the mortar to be pounded without water for two or three minutes, and the flour obtained is shaken into the wooden bowl. (6) The flour is put into the large cooking pot (*djir*) which has been boiling with water during pounding. (7) An extremely small quantity of flour derived from a final pounding is added to the pot after cooking for about five minutes. (8) During cooking the porridge is stirred 252 [Y/2] • with a wooden stick known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aserwi* (Fig. 188).

Millet porridge (*esink*, or *echink*) is of heavy consistency and is normally eaten with milk by means 262 of spoons. But if milk is lacking or is scarce, the Tuareg also add various types of sauces such as the 252 following which is made by many Ayr Tuareg:—Leaves of certain plants (*abzey*, *Cassia tora*; *malokhiya* 252 [Q/24] *Corchorus tridens*; *kuka*, a large tree growing in the Sudan) or seeds of a plant known as *ekabwa* (*Corchorus olitorius*) are put into a large mortar to be pounded together with onions, dried tomatoes,



Fig. 180. Tuareg women grinding wheat on the simple saddle quern (*rehum*). The saddle quern is placed upon a piece of skin (leather) called *aserwi* which receives the flour. Ahaggar, the Dog Bani tribe.

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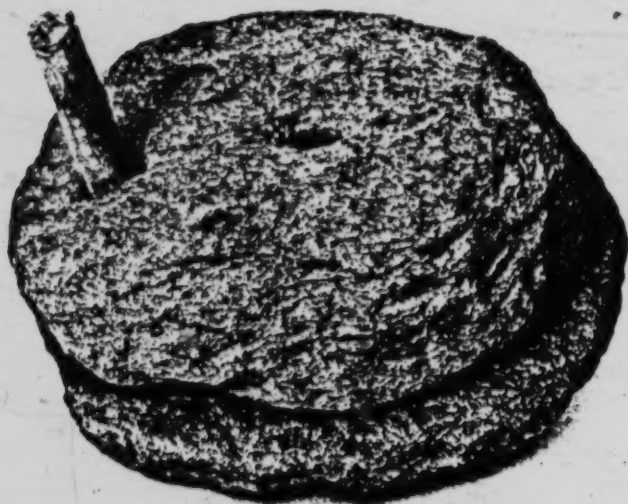


Fig. 181. A hand-mill (*tasirt*) manufactured by blacksmith of Tamanrasset and used at that village by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs. Dimension: 0.52 m in diameter (upper stone), 0.32 m in diameter (lower stone). (N.M. G. 5840a-b).

262 and red pepper which is much esteemed by the Tuareg, but not always available. The pounded flour
252 of these vegetables is boiled with water and butter and thus turned into a kind of thick sauce which is poured out over the porridge to be eaten.

The porridge type known as *ezink* or *echink* can be made from other seeds besides millet. Porridge made from barley, which is then also pounded in the mortar, is highly esteemed by the Tuareg who also use various wild seeds and roots for this dish. Plants utilized for porridge are mentioned above in the description of collecting (p. 175 ff.). Porridge is also made from dried dates pounded in the millet mortar; this dish is common among the Northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg have a particular type of porridge which I have never tasted. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *bayela*, and is made from pounded seeds of various cultivated plants (wheat, barley, maize, or millet). The seeds are pounded in the mortar but their husks or pods are not removed by winnowing. Otherwise the preparation of this dish is similar to that of ordinary porridge.

262 The Ahaggar Tuareg distinguish between very thick porridge called *sarawayt* and very thin porridge
246 or thick gruel known as *aliwa*. The latter dish is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the same name, and

Liquid Dishes

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among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child. ²⁶²
 that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *tanwen*. It is considered ²⁴⁶
 dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to
 make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision ²⁸²
 until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in magical beliefs. ³⁰⁴

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot ²⁶²
 season. A very common dish of this type is that named *aqjira* (Ayr) or *aqhara* (Ahaggar). It is made
 from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being
 pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk ²⁴²
 by means of a large wooden ladle called *tawlat* (Fig. 194a-b). This liquid dish is a substitute for ²⁵⁷
 milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which
 case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating.

The terms *aqjira* and *aqhara* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for
 which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important
 for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of
 food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *talekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded ²⁵²



Fig. 182. Tuareg women turning a hand-mill (*tastir*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the Dogon tribe.

[Text continues on p. 247]

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Fig. 187a-b. Earthen cooking pots manufactured by *Harratin* women in Ahaggar.

- a. Pot (*idjiri*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azli* Arabs of Tamangasset. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (N.M. G. 5841).
b. Pot (*alekkia*). Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tarhahawi. Dimension: 0.174 m high. (N.M. G. 5204).

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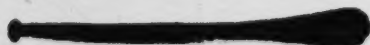
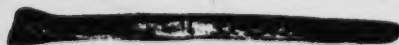


Fig. 188a-b. Simple ladles of the *aser-wi* type used for stirring millet porridge. Made by Tuareg women from wood of *ahoy* (*Acacia Radicans*).

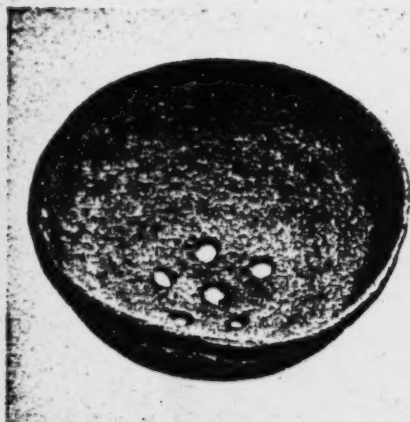
- a. Ahaggar, the *Ajeb-en-ahid* tribe. Dimension: 0.382 m long. (N.M. G. 5211).
b. Ahaggar, the *Iherewen Hada* tribe. Dimension: 0.415 m long. (N.M. G. 5846).

* 252
[415] small balls with a diameter of up to five millimetres. The balls are put into a special earthen, wooden, or plaited bowl (*denbe*, or *denfu*; Fig. 189) which has a number of small holes in the bottom. This receptacle is placed on the top of a cooking pot containing meat and/or vegetables to be boiled in water for a soup. The small flour balls are thus steamed by the boiling soup in the cooking pot. Like

[Text continues on p. 250]

Keskes

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Fig. 189. Earthen jar (*denfa*, or *denbo*) of the particular type used for the preparation of *keskes*. Ahaggar, Haratin of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.16 m high, 0.30 m in diameter. (F.M. 215).

Fig. 190. A kind of cake (*tarfat*) made of onions and dates which are mixed and pressed. Such cakes are made in Tidikelt but are sold at Tamanrasset by Arab merchants. They are pounded in the mortar or are crushed between two stones before cooking. Dimension: 0.10 m. (N.M. G. 5847a).



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Fig. 191. Wooden spoons (*sesukalt*, pl. *sisukaltin*) cut by blacksmiths from wood of the *tabura* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-zebl* and the *Dag* *gali* tribes. Dimension: ca. 0.26-0.28 m. (F.M.).

250

Kuskus . Other Vegetable Dishes

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 439
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 576



Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Agah-en-tehld* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed *tikhhemmez* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. - Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the Kel Ferwan group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *iberqan* and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *abezbez* and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *twes* (Ahaggar) or *sewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

* 252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

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Meals

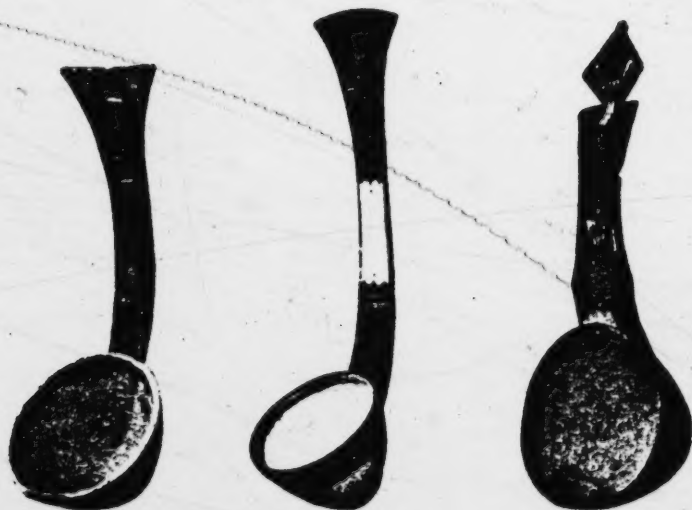


Fig. 194a-c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes - in particular for the dish known as *ayehara* (Ahaggar) or *ayehira* (Ayr).

- a. Ladle (*tanulut*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *sabwak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110-0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5845).
 b. Ladle (*tanulut*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).
 c. Ladle-like bowl (*aizer*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *sabwak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanasset. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

[302] 264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals:— (1) *tegingint* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *tdmekkewit* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immediately after rising. It is known as *effetur*.

[311] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

[384] During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

[text continues on p. 255]

Crafts

Tuareg crafts clearly disclose traits belonging to distinct cultural levels. This may be seen from a brief description of the methods of fire-making. 372
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Matches are in ordinary use nowadays, but they are used economically not only because they cost money but also because many Tuareg live far away from towns or trading posts where matches can be obtained. The embers of a fire smoulder for a very long time, and when the Tuareg want to light a fire they normally find embers under the ashes where their fire has been. Glowing wood is carried from one tent to another on a fragment of calabashes or earthen pots, and some Tuareg even take fire with them in this way during nomadic migrations. If a new fire has to be lit and matches are not available, most Tuareg use the well-known method of fire-making by means of flint and steel. This method is widely resorted to in Northern Africa even to-day, and is practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar as follows:— The curved piece of steel (*enefed*) is placed over the three middle fingers of the right hand. It is struck against a small piece of flint (*tafayast*) held between the first and second fingers of the left hand together with a small piece of lighting material which may be a small piece of cotton cloth. However, the best lighting material (*tafjet*) is a piece of wood of *teféryast* (*Echinops Bovel*), which has been boiled and thereupon beaten into a fibrous mass with a stone. The Tuareg keep this lighting material in a particular leather bag (*taralkabt*) together with the steel and one or two pieces of flint (Fig. 198). Lighting material according to Maire is also made from a plant named *térahit* (*Tragacanth nudatum*) (Maire 1933, p. 82). The spark produced by striking the steel against the flint causes the lighting material to glow, and after blowing on it or swinging it in the air, it is placed under a small bunch of hay which bursts into flame after further heavy blowing. The use of flint and steel is not a very difficult method of fire-making, and I have used it myself on journeys when matches had come to an end. [171]

The Tuareg do not generally use more primitive methods of fire-making nowadays. But they know an ancient method of making fire by rubbing a piece of hard wood (*agar* in Ahaggar, *agar* in Ayr; *Maerua crassifolia*) against a piece of soft wood (*turha* in Ahaggar, *turza* in Ayr; *Calotropis procera*). By this process they produce by hand rubbing a glowing dust which is brought into flame by means of lighting material and hay as described above. One of my informants among the Ayr Tuareg had produced fire according to this method. Lhote states that the method is at times used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar, where the hard ribs of date palm leaves are also used for starting a fire by rubbing (Lhote 1955a, p. 258). [224]
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Stone materials play a very little part in Tuareg crafts. Natural stones are used occasionally as 4/2
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Fig. 198. Flint (*tafarast*), steel (*taefed*), and lighting material (*tajfert*). The lighting material, which is conserved in a leather bag (*taraliabi*), is made from wood of *tefdryast* (*Echinops Borel*). Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tekht* tribe. Dimension of the steel 0.065 m long. (F.M. 154a-d).

- 4/2 tools, e.g., for hammering tent pegs into the ground, for rope making as described below, for separating the hide from the body when skinning a barbary sheep, and for crushing rock-salt, red pebber, dried tomatoes, tobacco, and the like. We have seen above that the Tuareg saddle querns used for grinding cereals are natural stones of a particular form and size, and that they are used for grinding without any particular fashioning, though sometimes treated with a hard stone or a piece of iron to make the grinding surface more rugged and effective. The handmill is never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg (cf. p. 214 ff., Figs. 179-182).

4/2
172 Prehistoric quern stones and stone pestles are found in many regions of the Central Sahara and these ancient implements, I was told, are sometimes used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar for grinding and pounding (Fig. 200). The Tuareg also use the numerous neolithic stone axes (Fig. 199) as whetstones for iron knives. These axes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *taɛst n eɛenna*, that is "the axe of the rain (or the thunder)", and all Tuareg believe that they have fallen from the sky during heavy storms.

301 Stone material is still used for certain Tuareg ornaments, and notably for the well-known arm-ring (*ahbeg* in Ahaggar, *éweki* in Ayr) which is worn by most adult men and also by some boys. These rings are sometimes mentioned in literature as a weapon, but they are not well fitted for this owing to their fragility. Most arm-rings are made from soft stone such as serpentine, and are manufactured by blacksmiths (Ineden).

Stone Work . Pottery

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by blacksmiths (*Ineqen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*amerywan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a-l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations - the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a-b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akralal*, *abakar*) (Fig. 202a-b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in



Fig. 199. Neolithic stone use known to the Tuareg as *taqeft a ejenna*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Afud-en-ahli* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

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Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeien* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045-0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amerwan*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-ikhle* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

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The pottery made in
Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information (Lhote 1947b, p. 145-154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

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In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507-512).

[Text continues on p. 260]

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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elbokkkhar*). Ahaggar, *Harratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

323 512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the
 1497 south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned
 323 Igdalet Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises
 563 professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps
 197 of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamacheq* but also have their own language
 323 which is said to be related to *Sonray*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated
 531 (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a-b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the
 178 great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

* 4/15 Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably
 163 a cooking pot (*éfir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned
 326 copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native
 163 blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*éfir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

322 The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by
 163 pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a-b, 75, 150, 153-154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191,
 163 194, 195, 212a, 219a-b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs.
 163 206a-d).

Wood Working . Rope Making

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206a-d). The ordinary axe (*taɣeft*) is used by all Tuareg who may also possess small adzes (*tat-sawt*), used mainly by women for the manufacturing of domestic implements such as spoons and milking bowls. These implements manufactured by Tuareg women are generally inferior in quality to those made by the blacksmiths, though certain noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe make wooden milking bowls that are said to be superior to those of the blacksmiths. In Ayr, Tuareg women engage very little in wood-working, and the Ayr Tuareg are on the whole less skilled in crafts than are the Tuareg of Ahaggar.

Pastoral Tuareg are experts in rope making. Ropes made from various materials play an important part for the Tuareg for hobbling domestic animals, for fastening burdens transported on camels, as reins, for the erection of tents, and for a great many other purposes. Incidentally the Tuareg make substitutes for ropes in a very simple way. Thus if a man comes upon a camel which he wishes to take back to camp and has no rope or rein to lead it by he makes a lead from three or four pieces of palm leaf, or the like, attached to each other. It is stated by Maire that the Ahaggar Tuareg make simple



Fig. 204a-b. Earthen pots made by the sedentary *Imeggudezen* of Agadez.

- a. A water jar with two spouts. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggudezen* as *galgeletti*. It is used by the latter people but never by pastoral Tuareg. Dimension: 0.30 m high. (N.M. G. 6633).
- b. Earthen jar used for water and also for cooking. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *edjint* or *dekia*, to the Hausa-speaking *Imeggudezen* as *teknaye* or *tala*. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6634).

Rope Making

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Fig. 206a-d. Axe and adzes of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

- a. The ordinary axe (*adgafit*) which is found in all Tuareg camps. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.572 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.157 m long, 0.053 m broad. (N.M. G. 5233).
- b. *asrawi*, a small socket-shafted adze with knee-shaft. Adzes of this type are common in Tuareg camps. They are used mainly by women for wood-carving. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.301 m long. (N.M. G. 5232).
- c. *adkadim*, adze shafted by means of a piece of sheet-iron and nails. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalesta. Dimension: 0.440 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.150 m long, 0.058 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5864).
- d. *adkadim*, slot-shafted adze. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Tamanasset. Dimension: 0.430 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.222 m long, 0.065 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5865).

The axe and the adzes are all made by blacksmiths.

The very best ropes or cords manufactured by the Ahaggar Tuareg are those made from goat's hair which is sheared with a knife by the women once a year in the hot season. These ropes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ihellumen* (sing. *ahellum*), while the proper term for a rope of goat's hair in Ayr is *azaw*. But the Ayr Tuareg do not make such ropes as they have goats of the short-haired breed (p. 33). They obtain their ropes from the Ahaggar Tuareg. Ropes of goat hair are manufactured by women by the following method:— The mass of hair, known as *ehafilen*, is placed upon a piece of skin and is prevented from blowing away by means of a stone. The hair is then taken out in small quantities with the first and second fingers of the left hand to be spun upon a stick 30–40 cms long.

[Text continues on p. 266]